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## GETTING MARRIED ON FIRST MESA, ARIZONA

By Dr. ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

THERE are three towns or rather two towns and a suburb on First, or East Mesa, Walpi, the Hopi town, with its suburb Sichumovi, and Hano or Tewa, a Tanoan settlement from the East, made, it is said, two hundred or more years ago.

It was from Yellow-pine, a young Tewa woman married for about three years that I heard most about Tewa wedding practices. Yellow-pine spoke English comparatively well, well enough to tell a story in English in about the same way as she would tell it in Tewa. This is her narrative:

"The boy goes to the girl's house at night to see her. If the girl's mother does not want him, she tells the girl. If she wants him, she says, 'You can talk<sup>1</sup> to him,' she says. (But if the girl wants the boy, even if her people do not want him, she can talk to him.) The boy tells his people; if they say yes, then the boy comes again and tells the girl. Then the girl makes *piki* [wafer bread, in Tewa, *mowa*], the narrow kind of *piki*, like sticks (*makana*). She makes *piki* all day. She piles it high, beginning early in the morning. At night the girl and her mother take the *piki* to the boy's house. The boy's people are happy and say, 'Thank you,' and give them meat. They bring it home. From that they all know that he is going to marry her. Now, any night, they take *piki* again to the boy's house, and the boy's people give meat. From then on they begin to get married. . . .

They grind corn every day until they fill ten or twelve boilers [store-bought tin boilers]. It takes a month to complete that work. They also prepare white corn to put in water for the boys to drink. Then they are ready. They go to the boy's house to tell the boy's people they will come in four days. The boy's people get things ready to eat. The girl tells her uncles [maternal uncles or kinsmen] and fathers [paternal kinsmen] to come to her house on the night they plan for. . . .

On this night they dress the girl in her *manta* [i. e. ceremonial blanket] and wheel her hair. Then they go to the boy's house where all the boy's people are gathered together, and where they have set out meat and bread and coffee. 'We have brought this girl to you to grind as much as she can,' say the girl's uncles. 'Is that so? All right. We are glad to have her,' they say. . . .

Next day, early in the morning, the girl starts to grind. She has to grind all day,<sup>2</sup> stopping only to eat. For three days the girl grinds. Early in

<sup>1</sup> At Zúñi, the New Mexico pueblo where custom is most like Hopi custom, "to talk to" is also the usual expression for courting.

<sup>2</sup> I. e., until about 4 p. m., the closing time of the Hopi work day.

the morning of the fourth day they wash the girl's head. The girl grinds once more and finishes. They [in the girl's house] make many bowls of blue corn meal, and they make *mowasi* (corn boiled and wrapped in corn husk). The girl's clanswomen come in to help. That night the girl's people take to the girl's house five or six boilers [empty] from which they are to give out meal to the boy's people, his aunts [father's sisters], uncles, and mothers [mother's sisters or kinswomen], meal and *piki* and on top *mowasi*. Whatever is left over is given to the boy's mother.

That day the boy's clansmen have brought out cotton to weave into a blanket for the girl. They take the cotton to the girl's house. Her mother thanks them, and puts meal for them in the bowl that held the cotton. The men take the cotton to the kiva to work on it. While they work, the girl has to stay on in the boy's house and do the cooking of the house and the sweeping, while they work for her in the kiva. . . .

When the men in the kiva start to make the white blanket, they take *piki* to them and white corn water to drink. And every day they take bread and meat. At the girl's house they are making heaps of meal and the girl's clanswomen are making *piki*, all night the women are making *piki*, and all night there is a meal set out for them. The next night they make *pigami* (a stew of samp and mutton).

A day or two later they take water to the girl's house and to the boy's house to get ready to make *piki* early in the morning. In both houses they make *piki* to take to the houses of the men who are working in the kiva for the girl. In that way they pay the men for making things for the girl.

Then the boy's mother tells the girl's mother in how many nights they are going to take the girl home again. They get ready, they cook for that night. . . . They put on the girl her blanket and moccasins. That night they cut the girl's hair on the sides.<sup>3</sup> The boy's mother and sisters take the girl to the girl's house. There, to thank them, are assembled the girl's uncles.

Early the next morning, they wash the boy's head [he has followed his wife], all the girl's mothers and father's sisters wash his head.

Four days later they make *piki* all day in the girl's house and towards evening they take it all to the boy's house. . . .

Afterwards, at any time, perhaps two or three years afterwards, the girl has ground in her house ten boilerfuls of corn, including one boilerful of white corn and one of sweet corn. After this grinding, the boy's people go to the girl's house and whitewash the walls and clean house. The next day the boy's mothers and father's sisters bring water to the girl's house. The next day, early in the morning, in the girl's house they start to make *piki*. They make *piki* and they grind meal all day. They fill up the baskets to take them to the boy's mothers. With a pan of beans the girl's mother goes first, the girl in her white blanket follows and the other women. The boy's people are waiting, they get happy. They go to the girl's house and eat. That is all, except that afterwards, at any time when the men who made

<sup>3</sup> Like the hair of Zuñi and Keresan women. Hopi women, married women, part the hair and with a string twist the locks on either side of the face. . . . That the Tewa women have thus preserved their own style of hairdressing is an interesting fact. Style of hairdressing and language are, as far as I know, the only distinctive traits, exclusive of religion or public ceremony, preserved by these Tewa immigrants whose town is within a stone's throw of the houses of their Hopi neighbors.

her things are going to dance, the girl dresses in her white blanket and takes the dancers *pigami*.<sup>4</sup>—It is hard work for us to get married.

A long time ago, it was not so hard. But now we get married just like Hopi, and it is much longer and harder."

It is quite likely, as Yellow-pine suggested, that Tewa marriage ceremonial was formerly more simple, as it is among other Pueblo Indian peoples. In Tewa folk-tales the ceremonial or etiquette of getting married is much the same as in Zuñi tale and practice<sup>5</sup> and probably in ancient Keresan practice.<sup>6</sup> The youth comes to the girl's house. She sets food out for him, he tells the parents what he has come for, they say that it is not for them to say, but for their daughter. (As Yellow-pine remarked, the choice is really with the girl.<sup>7</sup>) The youth leaves, to return another night with his bundle, his gifts of blankets, belt, and moccasins to the girl. If she accepts them, she carries in her turn a gift of corn meal to the young man's house, where she stays four days to grind. There on the fourth morning her head is washed. Then the couple return to live at the house of the girl's mother. A gift of apparel from the man, a gift of meal from the girl, her visit, a betrothal visit, so to speak, to the man's maternal house, the rite of head washing, and the return to the girl's maternal house—this seems to be the generic Pueblo form of wedding to which the Hopi and then the Tewa, in imitation, gave elaboration. Curiously enough, Spanish influence in the Eastern pueblos, Keresan and Tanöan,<sup>8</sup> has tended to a somewhat analogous elaboration, a case of similarity, we can but think, due to convergence.

The extent of the Hopi elaboration appears even more fully in another account of Hopi wedding practices given me by a Tewa man,

<sup>4</sup> At Oraibi, Voth notes that all the brides of the year appear in their white blankets at the close of the *niman kachina* or farewell performance in July, the most elaborate of the masked dances. ("Oraibi Marriage Customs," p. 246. *American Anthropologist*. II. 1900).

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Parsons, E. C. "Notes on Zuñi," pt. II, 302, 307, 322, 325. *Mem. American Anthropological Association*, IV, No. 4, 1917. Lack of weaving at present day Zuñi and the comparatively small amount there of clan cooperation would account in large part for the simpler way of getting married.

Second marriage is among the Hopi comparatively simple because no bridal outfit is to be made.

<sup>6</sup> Dumarest, N. "Notes on Cochiti, New Mexico," pp. 148, 149. *Mem. American Anthropological Association*, VI, No. 3, 1919.

<sup>7</sup> On the other hand I have been told that among old-fashioned people the girl's parents and uncle (mother's brother—note the significance of participation by the uncle to the theory of cross-cousin marriage, p. 265) would look for a boy for her. "My daughter, you will marry that boy," they would say to her. To be sure, "she might leave the boy they chose and choose her own boy," and, if her family were angry, she would go to live with some kinswoman.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. Parsons, E. C. "Further Notes on Isleta," *American Anthropologist*, in proof.

a Bear clansman married into a Hopi (Sichumovi) house and the father of a girl whose wedding was not yet completed, although she was the mother of a three months' old infant. The final gift of meal was not yet made. My Tewa friend had the wedding of his daughter Butterfly in mind, as he talked, I think, although he put his narrative into an impersonal form. Some of his narrative is supplemented by information from his wife, Butterfly's mother.

Whenever a girl finds a boy, the boy comes to see the girl's parents. After he comes, the parents ask what he wants. "I come to see about your daughter," he says. "I don't know about it," says the father of the girl, also the mother of the girl. "We will tell her uncles (*taamatō*, her mother's brothers, etc.), and see what they have to say" . . . The mother of the girl tells her uncles to come to her house. They come at the time she says. (There were six uncles who came in to talk about Butterfly). The mother of the girl says, 'I called you because there is a boy wants our child. I told him I had nothing to say until I called you.' An uncle may say, 'I don't think we want that boy to marry our niece (*tatiwaiya*, sister's child).' Or an uncle may say, 'Well, it is all right.' [In this case] the next time the boy comes, the mother of the girl says, 'I told my uncles. It is all right, they say. Tell your mother and father, and they will tell your uncles, and what your uncles say you tell us.' Then the mother of the boy will call in her uncles and tell them that the boy has been to the girl's house. 'Her mother and father said for me to call you and see what you think about it' . . . If it is all right, the girl's people take some food (*piki*) to the boy's house to let them know that the girl is going to marry the boy. This *piki* the boy's mother distributes to all members of her clan. . . . After this the parents of the boy have to look for buckskin, and for cotton to weave into the wedding blankets (*kwatskyapa*) . . . The girl's people begin to grind corn to fill ten bowls. (To help Butterfly, there were, besides her mother and mother's mother and mother's sister, one other close relative and five clanswomen). Then they say when they will take the girl to the boy's house; they tell the mother of the girl to tell the mother of the boy. The mother of the girl goes and tells the mother of the boy, and she tells all her uncles to come to her house and all her clanswomen (*nahimatō*) and all the aunts (*kyamatō*, father's sisters) of the girl and all the girl's father's brothers (*namatō*) i. e. clansmen. (When our girl married only my own two brothers came, but we asked all the Bear men. We can't tell who will come.)<sup>9</sup> The girl's aunts take some corn meal to the girl's house, in the evening, and the aunt<sup>10</sup> of the girl dresses the girl and puts her hair up in wheels. They all talk to the girl, each of them saying she must work at the boy's house and not be lazy. . . . They go to the boy's house, the girl's aunt goes first, carrying corn meal on her back, then the girl, then the girl's mother and then the girl's father, then the uncles, then the girl's brothers. They all go single file—[the usual Hopi formation for any formal group in progress]. At the boy's house they have prepared supper for all who are to come. They eat supper, they leave the girl there, they go back home. This night the mother of the boy takes care of the girl. Early in the morning the girl gets up to

<sup>9</sup> This is characteristic of all invitations to clanspeople, whether to join in a work party or a name-giving rite or other ceremonial occasion. All are asked; but only the closer relatives feel any obligation to come.

<sup>10</sup> The senior sister or cousin of the girl's father, her aunt *par excellence*.

grind corn. Across the place where the girl is grinding they hang a blanket or, nowadays, a wagon cover, so nobody may talk to her or the sun shine on her. They give her breakfast. . . . The boy's father's mother tells all her clanswomen to go to the boy's house, carrying water. The boy's mother goes around and invites her clanswomen to come to help her against the boy's father's clanswomen. Then they start to fight. (*Möungkipoh mowa*, female connection by marriage; *kipoh*, go to fight). [See p. 265 for explanation]. Then they go back home. . . . The girl grinds all day. The mother of the boy tells the girl when to stop grinding. They eat supper, they go to bed, and the mother of the boy takes care of the girl. . . . The first day the girl grinds white corn, the second and third days, blue corn, the fourth day, pop corn to be drunk in water. On the third day, in the evening, the mother of the girl begins to put up her meal to take to the boy's house. The father or brother of the girl are to take it to the boy's house. All night any of the townswomen may go to the girl's house to help make *piki*<sup>11</sup> as well as the girl's clanswomen, even clanswomen from other towns. . . . Early in the morning they wash the girl's head; first the mother of the boy takes down one wheel of the girl's hair and washes, then the father of the boy takes down the other wheel and washes, then the boy's sisters wash and then his clanswomen.<sup>12</sup> [They wash, as usual, with jucca root suds, dipping the suds on the head with an ear of white corn that is completely kernelled, one of the ears people refer to as "mother" and which is used on many ceremonial occasions. The dipping is quite formal, the head touched lightly four times, when a few words of prayer may be said. A thorough washing follows. After the washing, corn meal is rubbed on face, arms, and body, and meal is given to the person washed to take out and sprinkle, perhaps in a shrine, or on the eastern edge of the mesa, with a prayer for long life and prosperity.] They dress the girl's hair in a roll along each side of the head.<sup>13</sup>

After the head washing they eat the *piki* brought from the girl's house and the *pigami* made in the boy's house and for which his father has killed a cow. Other *piki* is given later in the day to the boy's clanswomen who come in to wash the girl's head, *piki* and on top of it *chaköbiki*, sweet corn meal, which is to be drunk in water.

Then the boy's uncles (*taamatö*) and the boy's father's brothers (*namatö*) [i. e. clansmen] bring in cotton to spin and weave for the girl. The girl's mother who is in the boy's house refills the baskets holding the cotton with

<sup>11</sup> At Oraibi the girl friends of the bride bring in trays of corn meal. The following morning the trays are returned filled with ears of corn by the groom's mother. ("Oraibi Marriage Customs," p. 241).

<sup>12</sup> On Third Mesa at Oraibi the groom's head is also washed at this time, by his mother-in-law. The bodies of the couple are also bathed. The heads of bride and groom are first washed in separate bowls, then in the same bowl, a symbolic act of union, according to Voth, which has lapsed in the case of a bridegroom who has had his hair cut short at school. (Voth, H. R. "Hopi Marriage Rites on the Wedding Morning," pp. 147-9. *Brief Miscellaneous Hopi Papers*. Field Mus. Nat. Hist. Pub. 157. Anthropol. Ser.: Vol. XI, No. 2. 1912). At this headwashing rite at Oraibi wrangling by the women (see above and pp. 264-265) is said to occur, the visiting women trying to displace the bride. ("Oraibi Marriage Customs," p. 242).

<sup>13</sup> At Oraibi the girl's hair is taken down from the wheels or whorls worn by virgins by her own mother before mother and daughter take their first gift of meal to the boy's house ("Oraibi Marriage Customs," p. 240). The two rolls of the married woman's hair are wrapped with brown yarn stiffened with grease, so that the hair slips in and out of the wrapping or rather casing.

corn meal, in return for the cotton. The cotton is divided into four piles, the father of the boy is to make one *oba* (white blanket with red and black border), the boy's uncle, an *oba* and an *atō*, (larger white blanket, embroidered), and the boy's father's brother, a belt (*wōkukwewa*). [They may also make a dress of black wool]. They take the cotton into the kiva, to spin<sup>14</sup> and weave. They don't know how long it will take—several days, sometimes a month, sometimes less. (For Butterfly they were spinning three days, and weaving three days). During this time the girl is grinding or making *piki* in the boy's house, where her clanswomen come to help her. This is for the men at work in the kiva to eat. They take the *piki* to them every afternoon, and sweet corn meal in water. Besides, at this time, the boy's clanspeople come to the boy's house to eat. Whatever corn meal or *piki* is left over is given to the guests to carry away with them, [as is usual in Pueblo Indian circles when a meal is thought of as pay in kind.]

Through with weaving, they make the moccasins, perhaps the boy's father makes them, perhaps his uncle. The night of the day they finish making the moccasins, they take the girl back to her house, first dressing her up in her new things, and the boy follows her. For all of them, the mother of the girl has a meal ready. Earlier in the day the boy's mother has carried the girl's mother a basket of corn. Before the boy leaves his house, his people talk to him, telling him not to be lazy and to be good to everybody in his wife's house—"that is why he is getting married."

Early the next morning [after the night return to the girl's house] the clanswomen of the girl come in to wash the boy's head, just as the girl's head has been washed. Three days later the boy has to get wood. On the fourth day the girl's clanswomen come in to make *piki* all day. That evening they take the *piki* to the boy's house. The following evening those *piki* makers return to the girl's house to which the boy's mother brings some *piki* and meat for them to eat. That is the end of it. . . .

If the girl is married in the fall,<sup>15</sup> the following fall [i. e. a year later] they begin to grind corn again. They put the meal into twelve baskets<sup>16</sup> to take to the boy's house to pay for the wedding outfit."

"When is the first time they sleep together?" I asked. "The night of the morning they wash the girl's head. I forgot that." He forgot that, because, I presume, it was the ceremonial that was of significance, not the personal relationship. "I forgot that"—what more telling comment on wedding ceremonial—anywhere?

On my last visit to First Mesa I had the good luck to witness a wedding attack, the kind of mock or ceremonial attack referred to in the foregoing narrative, by the groom's father's kinswomen on his own kinswomen. High pitched voices were heard out of doors near

<sup>14</sup> Voth got the impression at Oraibi that any townsman might join in the spinning. ("Oraibi Marriage Customs," pp. 243-244).

<sup>15</sup> Fall or winter is the usual season for weddings (Oraibi Marriage Customs," p. 240). None would marry in *Kyamuye*, the dangerous moon, i. e. our December.

<sup>16</sup> The flat gayly colored baskets got in trade from Second Mesa. . . . At the time of my November visit, a year after Butterfly's wedding, her family had accumulated only eight baskets and when I left they had but seven, as they gave me one.

by, about four o'clock of an afternoon, and I was called out to see the sport of the "women's fight" and join in the laughter of the neighbors standing about. There were but two women on either side, to throw water and any refuse they could pick up in the street. One woman had already had her face smeared with mud when I arrived on the scene, and all were drenched. The attackers would vociferate in shrill tones against the closed door of the house of the groom's mother—they were charging the bride with being lazy, unable to cook or to work—and then one of the women would burst out from inside to throw water and to talk back, to say that the bride *could* work, *was* industrious, etc. (No other insults appear to be indulged in on these occasions, there are, for example, no sex jeers.) But for the amused and non-interfering bystanders, two dozen or so, the row seemed thoroughly realistic. It was vigorous, though brief, lasting less than an hour.

The bride of this occasion was the sister of the town chief, the *gigyawuxti* or one of the chiefs of the houses, corresponding to the woman member of the *kyakweamosi* (chiefs of the houses) of Zuñi. She had been married before and separated, as had the groom. During the ceremonial row she remained, not in the maternal house of the groom, but in her own house at Walpi. That morning she had been married by government license in the schoolhouse below the Mesa.<sup>17</sup> Marriage by license in the morning and in the afternoon a wedding assault, what uncritical theorists would once have called a "rape symbol"! New custom and old, side by side, as is ever the way in Pueblo Indian life

Although the old custom, the assault, is not a symbol of rape, since the grievance is on the part of the groom's people, his father's people against his mother's people, it is, nevertheless, we may fairly assume, give certain other data,<sup>18</sup> a symbol or survival of an earlier custom, that of cross-cousin marriage, where the favored or acceptable marriage was with the father's sister's daughter or clanswoman.

<sup>17</sup> Hopi converts, "Christians" as they are called, are married in the church; but the unconverted are likewise required by government to be married, in the schoolhouse.

<sup>18</sup> See Freire-Marecco, B. "Tewa Kinship Terms from the Pueblo of Hano, Arizona," *American Anthropologist*, XVI, 286, 1914. For his paternal aunt to call a boy "our bridegroom" is also Hopi practice or joke. Another Hopi joke is that were a man to marry his father's sister's daughter (clanswoman), a certain lizard called *manaña* would dart at him. Oppositely, at Laguna, children are told that if they are shy of calling certain connections by the cross-cousin terms of relationship, which is "just like saying husband or wife," the lizard will dart. The cross-cousin terms of relationship in several Pueblo tribes point to some time cross-cousin marriage. In the Hopi *hoinawe*, a war dance, the girl dancers appoint the men dancers, appointing from their mother's brother's sons. As sexual license once characterized war dances, in this choice of dance partners may be seen another hint of cross-cousin mating.